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ROUND TABLE

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A RADIO DISCUSSION OF

SHOULD AMERICA CONSCRIPT MEN NOW?

HUGH M. COLE · QUINCY WRIGHT

and

THE ROVING REPORTER

336th BROADCAST IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY · 124

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ROUND TABLE

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NOTE

The supplementary information contained in the footnotes to the following text, developed by staff research, is not to be considered as representing the opinions of the ROUND TABLE *speakers. Following the transcript of the broadcast are questions which readers may wish to use for analysis and discussion. It is hoped that teachers and discussion leaders may find this additional service of the* ROUND TABLE *transcript helpful in their study of the subject discussed in the broadcast.*

SHOULD AMERICA CONSCRIPT MEN NOW?*

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST

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HUGH M. COLE, Instructor in History, University of Chicago

QUINCY WRIGHT, Professor of International Law, University of Chicago

and

THE ROVING REPORTER

* A radio discussion broadcast from the University of Chicago over the Red Network of the National Broadcasting Company, Sunday, July 28, 1940, at 1:30 P.M., Central Daylight Saving Time.

The ROUND TABLE, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without a script. Subjects are chosen because of their social, political, or economic significance. The program has no "ax to grind." In the selection of speakers, the effort is to provide a balanced discussion by participants who have special competence and knowledge. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company.

SHOULD AMERICA CONSCRIPT MEN NOW?

REPORTER: Gentlemen, I've been roving and perspiring, and perspiring and roving, talking to people to find out, if I can, where they stand on this conscription bill.[1] I see by the papers that the Senate Military Affairs Committee approved the bill only yesterday. Next week Congress will pass it and then we will be in the army.

What's in this bill? The people I've talked to don't seem to know what it is, it has hit them so fast.

MR. WRIGHT: The first thing is a registration. Every man 18 to 64 must register, but only those from 21 to 45 are liable for military service and they are not liable unless they are called. Of course, everyone between 21 and 45 won't be called. Those that are called and inducted into the army will receive a basic pay of $21 a month.[2]

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[1] *The Burke-Wadsworth bill, formally entitled the "Selective Training and Service Act of 1940" and introduced June 20 by Senator Edward R. Burke (Dem. Nebr.), and Representative James Wadsworth (Rep. New York).*

[2] *Men between 18 and 21 and between 45 and 64 are liable for duty in "home-defense units" in their own communities. Men entering active military training in the 21 to 45 group do so for a period of twelve months and it is provided that, of this active group, 78–87 per cent must be men 21 to 31, 10–15 per cent must be in the 31 to 38 age class, and 3–7 per cent are to be 38 to 45. This contrasts with press reports of German troops, the ages of which are most often said to be in the late 'teens.*

REPORTER: What about exemptions? In the old days we used to hear a lot about exemption. They talk about deferment now. At least half the people I talked to of military age want to get exemptions of one kind and another. I ran into a farmer up in Berrien County, Michigan, a relatively young fellow, who said: "My pa died a year ago; I've been running the farm since. I run it alone. I'm supporting my mother; I've got a wife and three kids—and they've got to come and get me. I'm not going to go."

MR. COLE: That man will have deferred classification but he will no longer be exempted. We work on the theory now that exemption should only apply to a very few people in key positions and those already in the armed forces. A man may have deferred training if, let's say, he has dependents or if he falls in certain age groups; but he can't be exempted even if he has diseases of a kind the army can cure.[3]

MR. WRIGHT: That question of deferment raises the possibility that these men may eventually be drafted into industrial service if they are deferred from military service. But I understand that this bill is entirely a military act and that the original proposals in it that might deal with industrial conscription have been eliminated.

REPORTER: All right! I ran into a lawyer who complained to me that he had a weak stomach and army food did not agree with him and that he could not survive in the army. What will happen to him?

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[3] *Deferment from service may be granted to men "whose employment in industry, agriculture, or other occupations or employment is found to be necessary to the national health, safety, or interest." Specific provisions for deferment are to be set out by executive order. The "physically, mentally, or morally deficient" may be deferred, as also may those "in a status with respect to persons dependent upon them for support which renders their deferment advisable."*

MR. WRIGHT: He will be deferred and, presumably, he won't be called at all for anything.

REPORTER: Just because he has a weak stomach?

MR. WRIGHT: I suppose in the army they need strong stomachs, don't they, Cole?

MR. COLE: That is quite so, but he will be deferred in his classification because he is a man in a certain age group and because of his family connections or lack of family connections. The weak stomach, after all, can be taken care of by army doctors. The army is prepared to do that if that is necessary.

REPORTER: Of course, they might have to take men with weak stomachs if any of us are going to have any stomachs left at all, I suppose. What about men who are married? I ran down to the Cook County Marriage License Bureau yesterday and discovered that they had received 300 applications for licenses, which is 100 more than they ordinarily get on a hot Saturday afternoon in July. The head of the Bureau thought that that 50 per cent increase could be attributed entirely to the prospect of conscription.

MR. COLE: I'll attribute it to the hot weather and say that these young people wanted to go out to a lake some place and take their honeymoon and avoid hot weather here in Chicago. But none the less, these men are really cutting off their noses to spite their faces because they can't secure exemptions in that way, largely because the girl has generally had a previous occupation of some kind and can earn her own living. If they have no children, if they have no life insurance policies or homes on which they have made payments, these wives are not going to secure exemption for their husbands.

REPORTER: What's going to happen to the conscientious objectors? I get the impression that there are going to be an awful lot more of them than there were in the last war. What's happened in England, for instance?

MR. WRIGHT: In the bill which is before us there is a provision for conscientious objectors. In England they have been fairly liberal with them, I understand. In the original bill it was only recognized religious sects that got any exemption. That has been changed so that persons who claim conscientious objection can place their claims as a matter of personal religion, and they may get out of the army although they may have to perform other civilian services.[4]

REPORTER: What if they object to any kind of service?

MR. WRIGHT: They can't object to any kind of service, as I understand. They have to give civilian service if they get out of the other.

REPORTER: Fight, or else!

MR. COLE: The answer is that these people may quite possibly seek all kinds of evasions that are not logical. For example, in the Civil War conscription, women took very sober husbands down to the conscription board and certified that they were chronic alcoholics in order to avoid the draft.

MR. WRIGHT: Yes, criminal penalties are imposed on people who try to get out of service by any argument, such as a bounty or a misstatement. It is a serious offense.[5]

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[4] *A recent estimate has put the number of men claiming status as conscientious objectors in England at one-half of one per cent. The bill now before Congress establishes a system for checking into the good faith of those claiming such exemption by the Department of Justice. If good faith is established the objector may be assigned to noncombatant work, or to "work of national importance under civilian direction" if his objections include even noncombatant effort. If good faith is not established, then the individual is put onto the regular draft register, always with the right to appeal to a special appeal board.*

[5] *A fine of $10,000 or five years' imprisonment or both may be the penalty for violations of the proposed act such as false statements, hindering registration, evasion of registration, and so forth.*

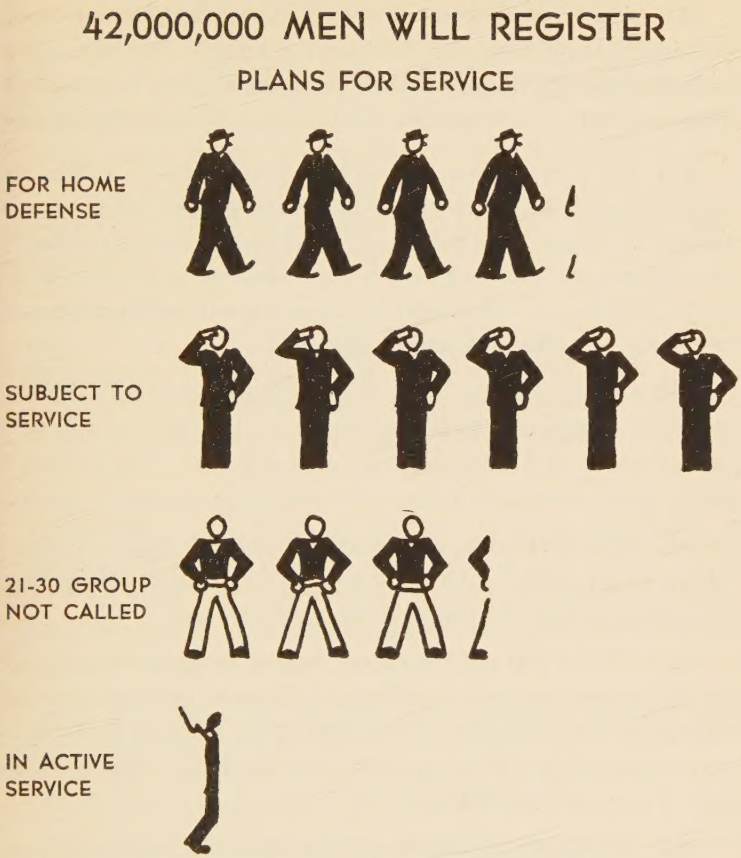
REPORTER: It might be worth while to get to be a chronic alcoholic! What is the reason for having this kind of thing now: having a conscription bill passed at this time? Most of the people I talked to believe that we do stand in danger of totalitarian invasion. They've given up the idea that Hitler was something that mothers and fathers invented to frighten their kids with and they have decided that he is a bad man and maybe he is going to come this way. But almost everybody I talked to raised this same question: Is it necessary now at this time to raise an army of a million or a million and a half men?

MR. WRIGHT: I think we are all agreed on this ROUND TABLE that there is a very serious problem of defense. The problem, in my judgment, however, is what we need to do first to meet the needs of defense. I say, first things first. There are a number of questions. First, there is the British navy. That is a defense as long as it exists. I think we recognize it is an adequate defense.

MR. COLE: I disagree with you there, Wright. I don't believe it is necessarily adequate defense because such defense has to have some kind of continuity if it is going to be adequate. We have no reasonable assurance that that defense will exist three weeks from now.

MR. WRIGHT: As long as it exists—that is, of course, a problem. It may not exist indefinitely. In my judgment, the first thing we should do for defense is to do everything we can by industrial assistance to maintain the British navy. For instance, I think sending 100 destroyers to assist the British navy is more important than the passage of this conscription act right at this moment.

MR. COLE: I disagree with you there, because I believe that every state so far in modern warfare that has been dependent upon an ally or some other line of defense than it could offer itself has ended up behind the 8-ball. This was true in the case of Poland; it was also true in the cases of Norway, Belgium, and Holland.



MR. WRIGHT: Just a minute, Cole! You must remember that nations that have won European wars have usually done so with allies. That has been almost universally true. I agree with you that Hitler has been extremely efficient in separating his potential enemies so that he has been able to pick them off one after another. I don't think we want to fall into that trap. As long as there are people assisting in fighting our battle we ought to assist them.

MR. COLE: You seem to believe, however, that something providential will keep the British fleet afloat. The Norwegians counted upon fog to protect them from the German bombers, the Poles counted on rain, and now we are to count on the British fleet.

MR. WRIGHT: I am not saying "providential." I think we ought to assist them with planes and destroyers and other material things. Of course, if the British navy goes under we ought to have a navy of our own. Our own navy is the second line of defense; second to the British navy. That involves the problem of building ships and of getting enough volunteers to man them.

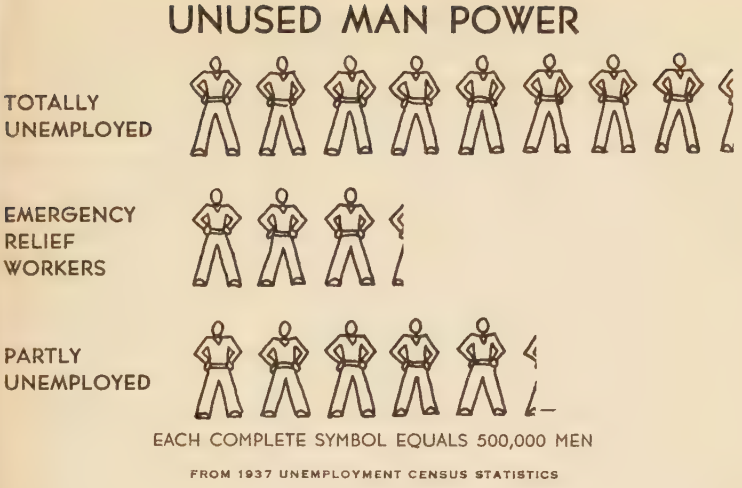
MR. COLE: Exactly! And that is no problem at all. Since we now have enough men to fill the ships that are afloat, we will have enough more to fill those ships that are being built. The problem is one of land forces and air forces; the problem is not one of the fleet.

MR. WRIGHT: Yes, and what about the air forces in respect to this conscription matter? We need a lot of planes. We have pilots enough to man the planes we have, haven't we?

MR. COLE: But not the planes that we are going to have, and for that reason we need conscription because of the very strict requirements for the modern type of pilot. That kind of a man may be now employed in a better position with more pay than he would get. You've got to draft him.

MR. WRIGHT: But we don't want to in any way remove national energy from the building of airplanes. That is the first thing, and so my point is that assistance to the British navy, the development of our own navy, and the building up of our airplane manufacture are the first things to which national energy should be devoted.

REPORTER: Well, gentlemen, people want to know what we need an army of 1,200,000 or 1,500,000 men for. Where are they going to fight?



MR. COLE: It is a logical question. It is one that should be asked and we should have the answer in the introduction to this bill. I am sorry that it isn't there. In testimony on this particular bill by the army it has already said that the problem is hemisphere defense.

MR. WRIGHT: Yes, and how are we going to defend a hemisphere with a land army?

REPORTER: Do they say which hemisphere?

MR. COLE: *Our* hemisphere. Moreover, notice that this land army is not to be used necessarily just in the United States. It is a dangerous proposition. It is one we must admit, however: that we may have to fight outside of our own soil but in this hemisphere.

MR. WRIGHT: In my judgment, the kind of army that is useful nowadays is a highly mechanized army. The days of mass armies of three, four, and five million men, at least in the geographical position of this country, are over. I agree with Hanson Baldwin and Major George Fielding Eliot, who I believe have recently talked on

this question and have emphasized that mechanized armies need a relatively small number of highly trained men and highly efficient mechanized equipment. They don't need the sort of mass army that you can only get by conscription.[6]

MR. COLE: I disagree with the interpretation that has been put upon mechanization of present-day warfare. You will notice that when the German army took a mechanized army into Poland in a most magnificent *blitzkrieg*, they did it with nearly 70 infantry divisions as compared with some 10 mechanized divisions. In every single case they outnumbered the Poles.

MR. WRIGHT: Yes, but remember this: they were fighting a war of aggression. They wanted to occupy neighboring territories. Of course, you need large quantities of foot soldiers in order to occupy a territory. Is that what we are going to do?

MR. COLE: You need large numbers of foot soldiers to defend a territory, particularly when you have a defensive frontier which reaches for thousands of miles.

REPORTER: Now, gentlemen, why is it that we can't get a volunteer army? This is a great volunteer country; people jumping up and defending their homes and firesides at the drop of a hat. Can't we raise enough men on the basis of patriotic duty?

MR. COLE: The testimony so far by military authorities on this particular bill has been that you can't get enough competent men, the kind of men you want, the kind of men you need, by asking for volunteers.

REPORTER: The University of Chicago ROUND TABLE gets a lot of letters from people. I have several here, one from a minister in

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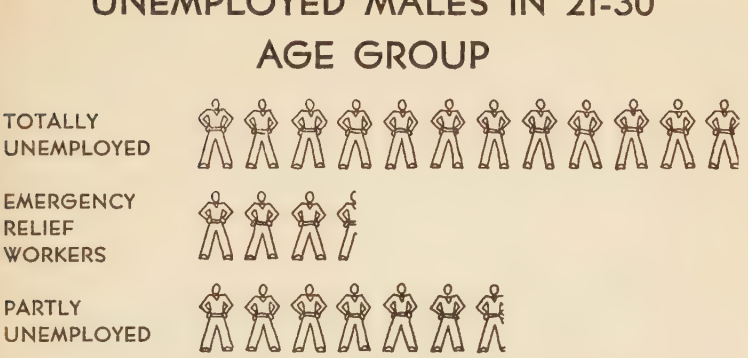
[6] *Hanson Baldwin is military commentator for the "New York Times," Major George Fielding Eliot, who has appeared several times on the* ROUND TABLE *(most recently discussing "Can We Protect America?" March 24, 1940), is a well-known military writer and radio commentator.*


UNEMPLOYED MALES IN 21-30 AGE GROUP
TOTALLY UNEMPLOYED
EMERGENCY RELIEF WORKERS
PARTLY UNEMPLOYED
EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL EQUALS 100,000 MEN
ESTIMATED ON THE BASIS OF 1937 UNEMPLOYMENT CENSUS

Albany, Georgia, who wants to know: "Why, before we resort to conscription, we can't put it up to the young men and see if they won't enlist voluntarily."

MR. COLE: We tried it twice and failed. We tried it in the Civil War and it failed there; we tried it in the World War, and it worked only when the draft was in prospect and when people flocked into camp to avoid the draft.

REPORTER: Why not do something to make the army more of an inducement for men and pay them a little more than $21 a month? I was talking to a commandant of a C.C.C. camp—he didn't want his name used. He said the men in the camp were almost all of them willing to go into the army as volunteers but they wanted to have the enlistment period cut down from three years to one year. They did not want to be taken out of circulation for three years. Now if we cut down the enlistment from three years to one and raise the wages from $21 a month to about $100 a month, don't you think we could get a volunteer army?

MR. COLE: We have only one case, historically, to fall back on. That is the period of conscription in the Civil War when just that

sort of thing was tried: dropping the period of enlistment in the hope of inducing men to enlist.[7]

MR. WRIGHT: That was an entirely different sort of situation. There we were fighting a great war in this country and the South had the advantage from the point of view of trained men to begin with. We needed to get a mass army. I think the situation was entirely different then.

MR. COLE: In answer to this other question, the question of raising the level of pay, Mr. Reporter, I should think that there is one answer not generally recognized. That is that an army is very expensive outside of the salary scales. When you up the salary scales, let's say, to $100 a month for two million men, then it really begins to be an expensive proposition.

MR. WRIGHT: After all, the salary you pay to the men is a very small part of the amount it costs to keep them in the field. I think it costs something like $10,000 a year for each man when you count all the mechanized equipment that he uses.

REPORTER: But the man isn't thinking about how much it costs to keep him in the field. He wants to know how he is going to live; how he is going to support a wife on $21 a month. He wants to know, if he is making $40 a month down payments on an automobile, what he is going to do about that. He wants to know, if he has $200 or $300 life insurance premiums to pay a year, why his salary wages in the army won't even cover it.

MR. WRIGHT: That is my point. The salary that you pay the soldier is such a small percentage of the total cost that you could up it some and get enough without breaking the government. Cole has come to the conclusion that we can't afford to pay large salaries to the enlisted men in the army. If you add draftees to this number, it would be a still more difficult problem.

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[7] *The present bill under consideration by Congress does permit voluntary enlistments for one year by any person subject to registration.*

REPORTER: Now, gentlemen, you are going to have a lot of men getting $21 a month. Isn't the effect on the economic condition of the country going to be a serious one?

MR. WRIGHT: I think it is going to be very serious, for this reason: these men who are getting $21 a month are not going to like to see the common laborers, who are engaged in industrial occupations in the country, which are equally important, getting perhaps $5, $10, or $15 a day.

REPORTER: Yes, I ran into a bootblack who told me that during the last war he made $10 a day working in the munitions plants. "Now," he said, "I'm lucky if I make $10 a week as a bootblack. I don't mind having a war, but I don't want to work for $21 a month."

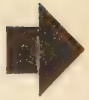
How are you going to level off that difference between army pay and industrial pay?

MR. COLE: Mr. Reporter, we've got to quit thinking in terms of the last war when those things were possible. If we prepare now to fight, we are going to prepare in every field of activity. That means that the man in the munitions factory is not going to wear silk shirts to work as he did in 1917 or 1918.

MR. WRIGHT: You mean by that that we are going to conscript men to work in the factories, and we are going to conscript wealth and conscript managers for the factories? In other words, that we are going to set up a totalitarian state here in order to defend democracy?

MR. COLE: Nobody can say that yet. It need not come along with the present phase of defense preparations, but in the long run it may.

REPORTER: I'll tell you, from the reaction of the people I've been talking to, it had better come along pretty fast because I'd say that three out of every five men I talked to were confounded if they were going to give up their jobs and work for $21 a month while the



big boys up on top were going on earning big money and making big profits.

My automobile broke down while I was roving and I got a mechanic to fix it. He told me he was making about $200 a month as a mechanic. He said: "When I go to work for the army and risk my life at $21 a month, I am taking a 90 per cent pay cut tax on my income. Why aren't the big boys going to take a 90 per cent pay cut?"

MR. WRIGHT: It is because of that argument that I think we ought to continue this voluntary system. I am not convinced that that would not be possible. After all, if you are conscripting men for military service you are going to be under a strong demand to conscript them for everything else and I think that is very dangerous for our institutions.

MR. COLE: I think you have, in part, misinterpreted the bill—for if the bill is properly implemented, as seems to be the case, you will not be taking men who have good jobs and who have dependents and life insurance in the first stages of this conscription.

MR. WRIGHT: You mean we will only take the unemployed?

MR. COLE: Not necessarily, and I should be opposed to the bill if it were so.

REPORTER: Now look! Wright has been worrying here about setting up a totalitarian state in order to save democracy, and there are an awful lot of people I've been running into who are worried about the same thing. That comes from the highest type of man, like Senator Norris, who says that this thing will go on and after fifty years we will be a nation of bullies, all the way down to a house-to-house vender who stopped by my place the other day. When I

STAMP OF LOCAL BOARD	UNITED STATES SEAL	DATE OF MAILING

ORDER OF INDUCTION INTO MILITARY SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES

(*Prepare in Duplicate*)

The President of the United States,

TO .....
(*First Name*) (*Middle Name*) (*Last Name*)

ORDER NUMBER ..... SERIAL NUMBER .....

Greeting: Having submitted yourself to a Local Board composed of your neighbors for the purpose of determining the capacity in which you can best serve the United States in the present emergency, you are hereby notified that you have now been selected for immediate military service.

You will, therefore, report to the Local Board named above at .....

[Place of reporting] ....., at ..... [Hour of reporting] ....., on

the ..... day of ....., 19..... for military service.

From and after the day and hour just named you will be in the military service of the United States.

.....
(*Member of Local Board*)

[The term "military" shall comprehend both Army and Navy, including Marine Corps, except where such construction would be unreasonable.]

[See Instructions on reverse side]

S. S. Form 150

IMPORTANT INFORMATION TO ALL MEN SELECTED FOR MILITARY SERVICE AND ORDERED TO REPORT TO A LOCAL BOARD FOR MILITARY SERVICE

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The day and hour specified on the Classification Record of the Local Board, and on the order and notice of induction into military service contained in this notice for you to report to this Local Board for military service is the time that marks the change of your status from civil to military.

Failure to report at the hour and on the day named is a grave military offense for which you may be court-martialed. Wilful failure to report with an intent to evade military service constitutes desertion, which, in time of war, is a capital offense.

Upon reporting to your Local Board, you will not need, and you should not bring with you, anything except hand baggage. You will not be permitted to take trunks or boxes with you on the train. You should take only the following articles: a pair of strong comfortable shoes; not to exceed four extra suits of underclothing; not to exceed six extra pairs of black or tan socks; four face and two bath towels; a comb, a brush, a toothbrush, soap, tooth powder, razor, and shaving soap. It will add to your comfort to bring one woolen blanket, preferably of dark or neutral color. This blanket should be tightly rolled, the ends of the roll should be securely bound together and the loop of the blanket roll thus formed slung from your left shoulder to your right hip.

You should wear rough strong clothing and a flannel shirt, preferably an olive-drab shirt of the kind issued to soldiers.

told him that I didn't want to buy any shoelaces but I'd talk about conscription to him, he said: "Well, that conscription thing is nothing but a scheme to set up a dictatorship" and he threw a newspaper clipping at me. I've got it here. It's an editorial from a big Chicago paper. It says:

> Every man in the United States between the ages of 18 and 64 will find himself subject to orders from the White House. Citizens who may wish to argue that there is no occasion for war, and still less for a third term, may find it expedient to keep their thoughts to themselves. The penalty might be an assignment to work in a factory halfway across the country.

MR. WRIGHT: I don't agree with the argument that this is a conspiracy for dictatorship or third term or anything like that. I am willing to concede that the people who are standing for this bill are doing it in good faith because they think it is necessary for defense.

REPORTER: But what is it going to do to the whole notion of democracy, civil liberties, and individualism? I ran into a type-setter who said his grandfather came over here from Germany in 1848 to avoid peacetime conscription, and so did all the other Germans.[8]

MR. COLE: That argument is very old. In the Civil War, the conscription of 1862, the Irish and Germans said the same thing. They said they would go to Canada—and they didn't go.

MR. WRIGHT: I think there is a tremendous difference between a conscription measure passed in a wartime emergency and the present measure. We have had two conscription measures in the history of this country, one in the Civil War and one in the World War. Both of them were immediately ended as soon as the war was over. Here is a measure passed in time of peace designed to continue for five years. It does not end until 1945. It

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[8] *During the liberal-democratic revolutionary movements of that period.*

seems to me that has a serious danger of establishing a new institution: the principle of conscription as a national measure, permanently.[9]

MR. COLE: As a student of international law, I'm afraid that you are still laboring under the old delusions of a specific kind of war and a specific kind of peace. Actually, we are on the verge of war now, whether we like to admit it or not. We are for all practical purposes preparing a military machine for a danger that is very close.

REPORTER: I ran into a German refugee. He said: "I want to fight Hitler. I hate Hitler as hard as anybody can hate Hitler, but I'm worried about things like building up a great military system in this free country. Militarization was the curse of Germany and I'm afraid of its happening here."

MR. COLE: I am afraid his historical analogies were pretty poor. There were a number of things other than the military conscription system, which is rather recent in Germany, which will explain that militaristic state of mind. I believe that if we can calmly, coolly, and rationally, in time of peace, set up a conscription system which we can legislate out of existence when we are through with it, it is a thing which should be brought into existence so as to avoid the kind of muddle which conscription in wartime would bring about.

MR. WRIGHT: Once you have it moving it will be hard to get it legislated out. The army, of course, has wanted this for a long time. I believe that General Palmer in 1920 was anxious to have a conscription system as a permanent measure, and I think if you have this one for five years it is going to be extremely difficult to get rid of it.

MR. COLE: I correspond with a number of officers in the army who hold positions of major and above. I have had three letters

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[9] *May 15, 1945, is the date the act expires, "unless continued in effect by the Congress."*

recently in which these men said: "If conscription was going to be a long-term project I should be opposed to it. I am in favor of it now because of the immediate danger."

REPORTER: But you have a man like Senator Norris—who comes pretty close to being our first statesman—saying that he is afraid that it is going to be permanent.

MR. COLE: Why should it be permanent when the bill itself provides that it can end at a certain time, and when we have a legislature which can legislate this particular bill out of existence?

MR. WRIGHT: I want to argue this question. We are facing an emergency problem: Is this going to prevent our energy from accomplishing the first thing, military defense? I think you've got to put first things first, the same as in any other form of human activity. It seems to me that this problem of the navy, the problem of industrial development, the problem of assistance to Great Britain—those are the first things—by the very nature of the case, by the fact that they differ so from our traditions, cause a political disunity and divert attention from the really first problems of defense.

MR. COLE: One thing we learned from the Spanish Civil War and World War II to date is that war is now an integral business: that the air force, the army, and the navy must cooperate. As a result, therefore, you can't talk in terms of producing tanks or planes or ships. You must think in terms of preparing a highly trained manpower to support them. The dramatic character of *blitzkrieg* has made us look at flocks of planes and herds of tanks as though they were two flashy halfbacks, forgetting the rest of the football team.

MR. WRIGHT: I think this question of cooperation between the various services can be pushed too far. After all, a tank can't follow a warship halfway across the Atlantic. The first problem is naval and there is no use talking about the land forces cooperating

immediately with those. The land force is only good when you face a landing in this continent. We want to avoid that.

REPORTER: "Admiral" Wright, "General" Cole, you two military experts aren't going to agree on whether you ought to send the fleet or the troops. I think what is of more importance, or at least what we can do a little more about here, is the question of what happens to the men who are going to get $21 a month. There are going to be more than a million of them who have got all kinds of fixed obligations; who are paying money on loans; who've got insurance; who've got families. A man can't support himself and a wife on $21 a month.

MR. COLE: I am impressed with the idea that people seem to think this is deep-dyed conspiracy where a bunch of well-paid generals sit around a table and try to figure out how to "gyp" a man who is buying a house or who is paying down on life insurance. That is not true. The bill as it will be implemented will not take those men first, and will not take them unless absolutely necessary.

MR. WRIGHT: You mean by that that the people who will be conscripted are those who are unemployed now and have no obligations, and so the $21 will be gravy for them because they are getting nothing at all now, except W.P.A.?

MR. COLE: No, Wright, I don't mean that. I mean there will be a gradation so you will take those with less obligation and that in that way the burden may be spread around somewhat more equitably.

REPORTER: What you are doing there is putting a premium on a man's buying an automobile, say, and having to pay $40 a month on it so that when he gets called up he says: "Well, fellows, I'd like to join your war but I can't; I've got to pay $40 a month on my automobile."

MR. COLE: I'm afraid you do me great injustice. I didn't say that a man could get out of conscription by buying an automobile.

I said if he had *real* obligations. After all, he can turn the automobile back to the finance company. It has been done often enough in this country.

MR. WRIGHT: Gentlemen, I think we agree that there is a serious defense problem in this country. The first line of defense is aid to the British and our own navy. We must steam up industrial production—I think we are all agreed on that. It is also, I think, agreed that we must have an army, but there seems to me to be a difference between us as to whether that should be a conscript army or a volunteer army. Some of us think that mechanized equipment with volunteers will do the trick, and others of us think that we need the large army that can only be gained by conscription. This is an emergency measure, we recognize that, and that it is not designed by its promoters to be permanent, although some of us think it may actually become permanent.

REPORTER: I get this impression from talking to an awful lot of people: if they can be convinced there is an emergency, they are ready and willing to fight. They think that the blessings of democracy are worth fighting for and dying for, but they want to be shown that there is an emergency. The people in this country seem to be all from Missouri.

MR. COLE: How are you going to show them? By bombing planes diving over Chicago, and by mechanized *panzer* divisions moving across Central America to our Rio Grande boundary?

REPORTER: Somebody's got to show them somehow, because they are skeptical now.

MR. WRIGHT: Yes, we want to be sure we can meet our defense problem with a minimum of danger to freedom and democracy.

OBJECTIVE QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION

The answers to the following questions may be found in the text of the broadcast, and page references are provided to assist in locating the answers.

*

1. The approval of what body has brought the Burke-Wadsworth bill before the Senate for debate this coming week? Page 2.
2. Under the bill, men between what ages must register for selective service? Pages 2, 7. Those between what ages are liable for military training? Pages 2, 7.
3. If drafted, how much will men under training receive as basic pay? Page 2.
4. What provision exists in the proposed law for exemption on grounds of religious objection to war? Pages 4–5.
5. In urging that the British fleet is America's first line of defense, it is suggested that what concrete aid be given it at the present time? Page 6.
6. What figure is mentioned as the possible future size of the army? Page 8.
7. When the German army conquered Poland, it did so with what land forces? Page 10.
8. When is the conscription bill now before the Senate scheduled to expire? Page 17.
9. The argument against conscription (that many came to this country to escape it in Germany), was first used when and under what circumstances? Page 17.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following questions of wider scope, intended for discussion, are suggested by the broadcast, and answers may be found in the literature on the subject listed in the section "Suggested Readings," found on page 24.

*

1. Do you favor a system of compulsory military training? Why? Discuss.

2. What measures do you feel should be taken to protect the dependents, homes upon which payments have been made, automobiles, insurance, and so forth of men drafted for the army?

3. Do you feel peacetime conscription of the sort anticipated by the Burke-Wadsworth bill would be an invasion of democratic rights and would tend toward dictatorship and militarization? Discuss.

4. If men are to receive military training for a year, what do you feel ought to be included in that military training? If you had charge of their work, what would you have them do for the twelve months of their training period?

5. Estimate the effect of conscription on the economic life of the nation. Do you think our industrial productivity will be lowered by removing men from active work? Or do you feel it will tend to solve unemployment and that men in vital defense industries will be "deferred"? Discuss.

6. What is your opinion of the proper course of action the government should adopt toward "conscientious objectors"? Should they be permitted exemption from service? Forced into noncombatant work? Jailed?

SUGGESTED READINGS

A Declaration against Conscription. New York: The Committee on Militarism in Education, 1940. *A leaflet setting out four principal objections to any system of peacetime military training on a compulsory basis. The statement is signed by several hundred educators, religious leaders, and citizens and may be obtained from the Committee's office at 2929 Broadway, New York City.*

Baldwin, Hanson, "Wanted: A Plan for Defense," *Harpers'*, August, 1940. *A general consideration of defense needs for the American hemisphere with a brief treatment of the problem of conscription.*

"In Advance of the Need," *Business Week*, June 15, 1940. *A declaration in favor of compulsory training as a necessary part of any industrial defense efforts.*

Johnson, Edwin C., "School Military Training Reconsidered," *School and Society*, March 2, 1940. *A long-time opponent of military training in the schools re-examines conscription and finds it wanting.*

Why We Must Have Selective Compulsory Military Training and Service. New York: National Emergency Committee, Military Training Camps Association, 1940. *A pamphlet setting forth the primary arguments for a system of compulsory training. Copies may be obtained from the Association's offices at 28 West 44th Street, New York City, or at 6 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago.*

The Listeners' Round Table . . . .

Letters to the ROUND TABLE *frequently contain sidelights on the subject matter discussed on the air. These comments are from letters received following the broadcast July 21, "Heading for the White House."*

*

Tolerance

Please try to bring to us members of your ROUND TABLE who are more tolerant. Your last discussion was most discordant and expressed too much personal dislike. One can glean little knowledge from such talks.

A Listener

*

Sad Indeed

I have listened appreciatively and profitably to many of your Sunday ROUND TABLE discussions, but today's wrangle was sad indeed. We could do much better at a corner grocery store, both as to intelligent content and sustained interest; today's broadcast got nowhere.

W. W. M., Delaware

*

Willkie Telegrams

In your discussion today you brought up the matter of telegrams to candidate Willkie. Here in Omaha for several days before his nomination we heard the following on the radio: "If you would like to see Willkie nominated, send your Nebraska delegation a telegram at once stating your wishes."

Someone must have paid for this radio time. These radio messages were injected into most any radio program. I think that is an answer to this question.

C. D. S., Nebraska

*

A Leader

I hope your broadcast was intended as a challenge to all intelligent, thinking people in this country. Are we so helpless that we cannot avert a tragedy that stares us in the face? We are so ignorant that only education can help us to understand and try for a better way of life.

We need a genuine leader, a Gandhi, to inspire us with a healthy philosophy, instead of worshipping the dollar.

F. F.

*

The Difference

Why did not your three professors see more of a difference between the Republican and Democratic conventions—the one free and unbossed and American, the other dictated and coming down at last to a one-man Democracy party—its democratic parts purged and cut away?

No businessman that has survived the last eight years has not had the New Deal etched in acid in his mind and soul. There are still forty-five million workers struggling on trying to gain a living and at the same time support the biggest bureaucracy in the world.

H. A. M., Pennsylvania

*

The Postman . . . .

brought 673 other letters to the ROUND TABLE. Listeners praised Willkie (3), Roosevelt (2), Krueger (2), Smith (2), Stone (3), conscription (1), Russia (1), and the Townsend Plan (3). Listeners attacked Roosevelt (8), Smith (6), armaments (1), conscription (1), Jehovah's Witnesses (3), Red Cross aid to Europe (1), the Third Term (3), and state-administered relief (1). One listener accused the New Deal of warmongering; 4 submitted plans for salvation; 1 said nothing. Twenty-three praised the ROUND TABLE; 6 attacked it. The rest requested 328 copies of the broadcast transcript, entered 189 subscriptions, and bought 421 back issues of the transcript. Subscribers this week: 3972.

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Nos.

1939

42. *The Economic Struggle for South America*
43. *America Arms—for What?*
44. *Is Security Increasing?*
45. *How Shall We Solve the Housing Problem?*
46. *Price Fixing*
50. *America's Neutrality Act*
51. *The Outlook for Europe*, Beneš, Wright, Schmitt
54. *The National Income*
55. *The Birth Rate and Business*
56. *Hitler's Economic Motives*
57. *"Room to Live!" Population Pressure and Aggression*
59. *Have We Helped the Farmer?*
60. *Refugees*
61. *If Europe Paid Its Debts*
63. *What Do You Mean—Americanism?*
64. *Russia and Europe*
65. *Freedom and the Economic System*
66. *The Place of Radio in a Democracy*
67. *Questions on Democracy*
68. *Our Liberties Today*
69. *Crisis in the Orient*
70. *Relief and the WPA*
71. *Out of School—Out of Jobs*
72. *The Line-up for 1940*
74. *Is the Consumer Getting His Nickel's Worth?*
76. *Europe on the Verge.* August 27
77. *War Comes.* September 3
78. *Will There Be a Blackout of Peace in America?* September 10
79. *The High Cost of Living*
81. *How Will We Get Recovery?*
82. *Prosperity vs. Boom*
83. *International Law—What Is It?*
84. *The Economic War*
85. *What's the War All About?*
86. *Testing Public Opinion*
87. *After the Next Armistice—What?*
88. *Taxes*
89. *Propaganda*
90. *Russia Marches*
91. *Can Capitalism Survive the War?*
92. *Government and Business*
93. *When Tomorrow Comes*
94. *1939: Crisis Year*

1940

95. *Wages and Hours in the North and South*
96. *Is Our War News Accurate?*
97. *The Far East—Backdoor War?*
98. *The Jews*
99. *Economic War Between the States*
100. *Is Russia Losing in Finland?*
101. *Are Tariff Walls Blockading America?*
102. *War Myths*
103. *Economic Issue and 1940*
104. *Is America's Economic Frontier Closed?*
105. *Must the World Unite?*
106. *Can We Protect America?*
107. *The Census*
108. *The Archbishops Look at America*
109. *Scandinavia on the Spot*
110. *Third Term?*
111. *Where's that War Boom?*
112. *The Trojan Horse*
113. *Blitzkrieg, May, 1940*
114. *America and the Peacemongers*
115. *Babies Cost Money*
116. *If Germany Wins*
117. *Have We Time to Think?*
118. *Italy Marches*
119. *America's Capacity to Arm*
120. *Economic Union for the Americas*
121. *Civil Liberties and the Fifth Column*
122. *M-Day and America.*
123. *Heading for the White House.* July 21

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE HAS WHAT IS PROBABLY THE LARGEST NETWORK OF ANY EDUCATIONAL BROADCAST. THE FOLLOWING STATIONS OF THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY CARRY THE PROGRAM EACH SUNDAY:

2:30 P.M. EASTERN DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME

City	*Call Letters*	*Kilocycles*	*City*	*Call Letters*	*Kilocycles*
Boston, Mass.	WNAC	1230	Portland, Me.	WCSH	940
Buffalo, N.Y.	WBEN	900	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	890
New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	790
Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1020	Wilmington, Del.	WDEL	1120
Pittsburgh, Pa.	WCAE	1220	Worcester, Mass.	WTAG	580

1:30 P.M. EASTERN STANDARD TIME

Asheville, N.C.	WISE	570	Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1210
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1210	Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	780
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1210	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1070	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	780
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Columbus, Ohio	WCOL	1210	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1350
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	920	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1150
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1200	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1310
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1270	St. Petersburg, Fla.	WSUN	620
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1300	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	620
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	900	Washington, D.C.	WRC	950
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1370	Zanesville, Ohio	WHIZ	1210
Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1310			

1:30 P.M. CENTRAL DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME

Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670			

12:30 P.M. CENTRAL STANDARD TIME

Amarillo, Tex.	KGNC	1410	Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1280
Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	930	Milwaukee, Wis.	WTMJ	620
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	Minneapolis and		
Dallas, Texas	WFAA	800	St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1460
Des Moines, Ia.	WHO	1000	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1320
Duluth, Minn., and			Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	900
Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1290	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
El Paso, Texas	KTSM	1310	Pittsburg, Kans.	KOAM	790
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	630	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1420
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	940	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WGL	1370	San Antonio, Tex.	WOAI	1190
Indianapolis, Ind.	WIRE	1400	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1450
Jackson, Miss.	WJDX	1270	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1230
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1310
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	890	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1140
Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	940	Wichita, Kans.	KANS	1210

11:30 A.M. MOUNTAIN STANDARD TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	1180	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	780	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1290
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1350	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1260
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1340	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1240
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1210			

10:30 A.M. PACIFIC STANDARD TIME

Bakersfield, Cal.	KERN	1370	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	600
Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	920
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1410	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620	Stockton, Cal.	KWG	1200
Sacramento, Cal.	KFBK	1490			

STATIONS CARRYING ROUND TABLE BY TRANSCRIPTION

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Every week the ROUND TABLE discusses a topic that is not only timely but important.

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THE NEW FRANCE

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST

AUGUST 4, 1940

RICHARD BUSVINE, Acting Foreign Editor, *Chicago Times*

LOUIS GOTTSCHALK, Professor of Modern History, University of Chicago

WILLIAM S. HALPERIN, Instructor in History, University of Chicago

SUGGESTED READINGS

POL, HEINZ, "Who Betrayed France?" *Nation,* July 6 and 13, 1940.

"France Goes Fascist," *New Republic,* July 15, 1940.

REYNOLDS, QUENTIN, "The Army of Despair," *Collier's,* July 20, 1940.

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